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Speech of Hon. J.G.Cannon in the
House of Rep's, March 24, 1916.

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IMMIGRATION.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. CANNON,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 24, 1916.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 10384) to regulate the immigration of aliens to, and the residence of aliens in, the United States.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I have in manuscript largely what I desire to say, and this is the third time in my life that I have ever had a manuscript. I do not intend to read it entire. I will, however, place it substantially in the RECORD if I have leave to extend my remarks, which I now ask.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CANNON. And before I either read or talk further, before I forget it—and I will refer to the gentleman later, before I sit down, if I do not forget it—let me say a word to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] with reference to his position touching this bill. It is wonderful how some people, who, upon all other subjects, from my standpoint, are, as they ought to be, wise in the main, can stumble touching some vital questions, especially touching immigration. The gentleman from Massachusetts has been opposed to immigration as far back, I know, as 1907, when the law substantially now on the statute books was enacted, and when the literacy test reported from the committee was in the bill, but not as finally enacted in the bill, and since that time he has been consistent.

Oh, he is a good protectionist. He tears passion into tatters when it comes to protection, and yet he starts out with the story of a man who was getting \$10 a week or \$12 a week who would like to have \$16 a week. "How can you expect to get \$16 a week when people can come over here and compete with you and work for \$10 a week?" And yet he is not consistent when 300,000,000 people new in contest upon the other side—

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substantially all of them will be there, and their children, for a long, long time—manufacture and ship their products to the United States and come in competition with that man he talked to who was getting \$12 a week, they working at half the wage he is receiving. And, O, my southern friends, you are agonizing about this competition from immigrants who you seek to keep out, and yet you stand for free trade and let in the products of those 300,000,000 people abroad, and then you turn around, not consistent, and make the same argument that the gentleman from Massachusetts makes.

So much for that. I have lived almost 80 years. [Prolonged applause.] I date back fairly well in my recollection to 1846. I was then a lad of 10 years of age, living on the Wabash. My parents were pioneers from North Carolina to the Wabash. They were Quakers and small landholders in North Carolina—my father, a Quaker by adoption, and my mother, from George Fox down, by inheritance. They left North Carolina, bearing testimony against slavery, as hundreds and multiplied thousands, I might say, like them did—they and Moravians and other small landholders. What for? To get away from servile labor that was performing similar labor which they performed into a country where servile labor did not exist. [Applause.]

And yet I am not here to dwell greatly on ancient history except as it illustrates present conditions and is germane to this bill. Now, so far what I have said is not in the manuscript. We all belong to the human race. I am glad to belong to it. We are divided into great racial divisions. The Caucasian race takes in all those people, 300,000,000 strong, who are waging that desperate war, such as the world never saw before, on the other side. I am not afraid of the Caucasian race, whether it be French, German, Irish, Scotch, English, or Slav; and as to the Italian, I am not afraid of it, whether it is literate or illiterate, so long as it substantially by labor lives in the sweat of its face, supports its family, makes a small saving, and cares for and educates its children; and in this country it must educate its children, because in our common schools 20,000,000 of those children are compelled to go to school, whether their parents assent or not, and become literate, whereas their parents, many of them, were illiterate.

Mr. KONOP. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON. Yes.

Mr. KONOP. Is it not a fact that the children of the immigrants educate their children far better than the native Americans do?

Mr. CANNON. Oh, I do not think that is a fact, stated so broadly. Yet it is true, from my own observation in Indiana and

in Illinois and from what I read generally, that the children of the immigrants, the second generation of them—the first generation came to this country—it is true that they are quite equal in the common schools and the high schools with “our people,” as we call them, whose parents came here three or four or five generations ago; quite as competent, and quite as wise, and quite as anxious for education, and quite the equal of the ancient “first families” that came to this country, some of them 300 years ago, but not a great many, and many of them 100 years ago, and many 50 years ago.

Now, the human family is a peculiar one. Man naturally is a religious animal. I believe the gentleman from Massachusetts is a direct descendant of some one of the people who came over in the *Mayflower*. A great people they were. Why? Because there was no place on the Continent of Europe or in Great Britain where a man could have freedom of religion and conscience without persecution. [Applause.] Well, they came over and had a pretty hard time. They were the common people, the Puritans; but no sooner did they get over here than they wanted to have a close corporation [laughter], and they did not want anybody but Puritans; others were not encouraged.

FIRST GUARANTY OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

It ran along that way for several generations; but early there began to be protests against immigration that was not Puritan. There was old Roger Williams, that old Baptist, you know, who did not agree with the Puritans. In civil affairs he wanted everybody to obey the law, but in religious affairs he wanted every individual in Massachusetts Bay and everywhere to have freedom touching his religious views, without persecution. Well, they banished old Roger. He went down to Providence and Rhode Island Plantations. I said that on my mother's side from George Fox they were Quakers. Well, there was one branch of them, the Folgers, the Coffins, the Macys, and others, who were residents in Massachusetts. They went to Nantucket, because they had to choose between going there and being hanged if they stayed in Massachusetts. [Laughter.] So there you are.

Roger Williams, the Baptist, went down to Providence and Rhode Island Plantations, and he secured a charter from King Charles the Second, who, if I recollect aright in my reading of history, succeeded the Protectorate. That charter guaranteed to him and all people in that colony under that grant religious liberty. The historian says—I have not verified it, but I have no doubt it is true—that in all the history of the world from the beginning of time there never before had been written into law any enactment which guaranteed religious freedom.

A little before that a liberal charter was granted to Calvert, Lord Baltimore, the Catholic. Under the leadership of Calvert they organized a government in Maryland, and the Toleration Act was passed, which gave religious freedom, and the historian records the fact that the few Puritans who were in Virginia, where the Church of England was the leading church, the State church, went to Maryland because of persecution in Virginia. Oh, there is much of instruction if you will run back a little bit in the history of the settlement of this country. Our forebears, worthy as they were, made their mistakes. The historian tells us that Maryland was called the Sanctuary. Well, in the fullness of time, there being much disagreement about immigration and much of persecution in most of the colonies—in the fullness of time came the Revolution; and then it was that the Irishman, the Scotchman, the German, the Hollander, and the descendants of the Pilgrims came together as one man, with La Fayette, Von Steuben, Kosciuszko, and Pulaski aiding Washington and his generals in military strategy, and shoulder to shoulder they won out and obtained their liberty. [Applause.]

And, lo and behold, after the Confederation, when they came to frame the Constitution in 1789, in a convention presided over by Washington, they wrote into that Constitution, where it stands to-day and has stood from that time to this, the guaranty of religious liberty and a divorce between church and state, and so it has remained until this day. [Applause.]

A step further. Immigration was invited. It came. A great many immigrants came from abroad. There were complaints once in a while. About 1816 there were people agreeing with my friend the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER], and agreeing with many gentlemen from the South and the West. I am not abusing them, but it was thought that there were almost too many coming, and that they were poor—many paupers, and so forth—the same complaint that you have now, although it is only a complaint now, because but few paupers or undesirable people are coming now from abroad, since 1907, when the present law was enacted. There was a good deal of flurry just 100 years ago. But about the same time when western New York was a rich and unpopulated land, and Ohio invited immigrants, whole villages, townships, and cities were substantially depopulated by that stream of emigration of our kind of people who went West. Common labor could not be had. Skilled labor was not very plentiful, and then again immigration was courted and invited, and it came in great streams. Why was that? It was because there was nobody to do the common labor that was absolutely necessary to be done.

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION.

It went on until about 1836 or 1837, and they kept coming and coming, sent over by Governments and by organizations. Agents were sent over, because we needed the labor. That was some time prior to 1836. They came and helped build the railroads and dig the canals and do the common labor. But here in 1836 or 1837 the native-American movement was organized, and a demand was made which was promoted throughout the length and breadth of the country against that immigration. The organization demanded that the naturalization laws be repealed and that the ports of the country be closed against all immigration. My friend the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] wants to close the ports for 10 years, but then it was demanded that they be closed entirely.

Those agitators of 1837 had more excuse for their opposition than have those of to-day. There had been years of assisted immigration.

In England the parish officers sold houses belonging to the parishes to secure the funds to aid emigration to America. In 1828 the health officer of Baltimore, in his annual report, declared that many people had come from foreign ports who were absolutely destitute. A year later he mentioned "some lame, blind, and others in a state of idiocy," and told of the arrival of immigrants whose passage had been paid by the parishes in England. Again, in 1830, he described the condition as deplorable, with "the halt, the lame, and the blind" among the immigrants. The American consul at Jamaica was visited in 1831 by the captains of American ships who complained of a law which compelled them to carry away one pauper for each hundred tons of cargo or pay a fine of £100 currency.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

So the native Americans again sought to check immigration and naturalization, but the internal improvements which we had inaugurated called for labor beyond the home supply; we had begun to build canals and railroads. The contractors on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal could not secure in this country the unskilled labor necessary to carry on those great works; so they turned to Europe. They sent agents to Great Britain and Ireland and imported workmen. They contracted to pay those men \$12 a month and board, and the men contracted to work out their passage.

The historian of the times admits that the open door was abused; that England, Ireland, Scotland, and other countries emptied their poorhouses and jails and shipped their paupers and convicts to America. New York put up the bars against

convicts and was urged to deny admission to paupers. In that day Congress and the country looked to the States, and insisted that New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Maryland close their ports to convicts and paupers to protect the country.

The agitation begun in 1837 against immigration ran along until the forties, when great floods destroyed the crops in Germany, when multiplied thousands were stricken with poverty, were without subsistence, and there was a terrible condition, and again emigration was promoted by Germany. Just a little later came the potato rot in Ireland, where a whole people were starving. Then, a little later—and I will bunch the three together—came the revolution of 1848, when, as I understand it, Mr. RODENBERG, that revolution having failed, your father came with Schurtz and Sigel and many others to this country, 300,000 strong. [Applause.] Well, they were welcome. We were very sorry for the Irish and the Germans—especially for the Irish—because they were in abject want. You know charity made great contributions, and the United States furnished the ships to carry the cargoes of food across the oceans to them. Congress was appealed to, but Congress did not respond, and the reason it did not respond, assigned then, and honestly assigned, was a condition somewhat similar to that which we have now. The Treasury was empty and they did not have the wherewithal to appropriate the half million dollars that had been asked for. [Laughter.]

Those who came here found work, wages, and food, and prospered. They wrote back to friends of the opulence of America, where the people had three and four meals a day, with meat for everybody; they said that bullocks' and sheep's heads were thrown away and there were no empty bellies in this land of plenty. So the stream of aliens continued to come year after year from Ireland and Germany. The Irish generally settled in the cities of the East, while many of the Germans came in colonies and pushed on to the West. Chicago has one-third of its population made up of aliens. New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and other cities in the East and St. Louis in the West had larger foreign population in percentage than they have to-day. These new immigrants lived in colonies, spoke their own languages, had their own social customs and amusements, read their own newspapers and books, and had their own military companies, uniformed as in the land of their birth, so that it was said that an assembly of these military companies on training days resembled a mimic review of the armies of the world.

It ran along, and now we come to a time that I recollect. Mr. Chairman, how much time have I consumed?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has consumed 22½ minutes.

Mr. CANNON. I am like the gentleman from California, I have hardly begun; but I must hasten along, because there are some interesting things that I want to say. I have the permission of the House to print, so I will jump along.

THE KNOW-NOTHING MOVEMENT.

The native American opposition broke out anew and became a powerful political organization threatening the supremacy of the old parties. Its popular name, the Know-Nothing Party, was due to its secrecy and the professed ignorance of its plans by those identified with it, for no member would admit that he knew anything about it. It worked in secret, all movements directed from a central agency. It proscribed not only aliens but all native Americans who refused to cooperate with it.

I recollect it. I was a tolerably husky lad at that time, 20 years old, and since then I have frequently thanked God that I was not old enough to join it. Probably if I had been old enough I would have joined it, because it abounded greatly on the Wabash. [Laughter.] Its blows were delivered in the dark. It proposed that none but native born should be eligible for public office. Its hostility to the alien ramified, until it proscribed religious as well as political organizations, developed antipathies toward churches as well as toward foreign born, encouraged riot and religious persecution, which resulted in the burning of churches and convents, and it created divisions in other churches until it almost appeared that the Christian religion had become a Babel of warring sects instead of a great, harmonious army following the Master. What would have been the outcome of the antagonisms encouraged by this new development of native Americanism, much of it less than two generations here, no one knows had it not been absorbed or side-tracked by the great antislavery movement which led to the Civil War.

UNION OF ALIENS FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE.

That great American tragedy developed the fact that there was no alien sentiment in our population. The Irish, the German, the Italian, the Scandinavian, and the Greek societies in the North became military units in the Union Army, and they contributed no small part in the preservation of the Union. The men who followed Sheridan and those who fought with Siegel made history in that war, and it is said that Jefferson Davis attributed to the aliens of the North the defeat of the Confederate armies and the preservation of the Union. [Applause.]

We have had no such violent outbreaks against the alien immigrant since the Civil War as those that recurred from time

to time in the generation preceding that war. We have continued to find work for all our own people and for millions from abroad. We have increased our population from 31,000,000 in 1860 to 100,000,000 in 1910, and our national wealth from \$16,000,000,000 to \$187,000,000,000. We have created new empires in the West, made conquest of mountain and desert, and have developed a homogeneous union out of the most discordant contributions of the world to testify to the vitality of the principles on which this Government was founded.

ALIEN CONTRIBUTIONS TO PROSPERITY.

The alien immigrant has contributed to this result, and I have been unable to see any more danger from the alien of recent years than from those who came in the early days of the Republic. The Italian, the Hungarian, the Pole, the Lithuanian, and the Russian Jew are just as anxious to work as were the Irish and the German 100 years ago, and they are developing into Americans more rapidly, because we have found better means to educate the immigrant and make him understand what this Government means. Should this Nation be forced to defend itself against any other power on earth I have not the slightest doubt that the alien part of our population would, without exception, bear its share in the defense of the Government as it did from 1861 to 1865. A literacy test in the past would have shut out millions of people who helped to develop this continent and build this Nation, and I believe the future may be judged by the past. [Applause.]

Who are the aliens in America? They are so large a part of the Nation that we would not be a Nation of 100,000,000 without them. A recent census report estimated that in 1900 the population resulting from immigration since 1790 amounted to more than one-third of the whole, or from 25,000,000 to 30,000,000 out of 76,000,000 as the total population, and that they had produced \$40,000,000,000 of the total wealth, which then was less than \$100,000,000,000.

IMMIGRATION GOVERNED BY DEMAND FOR LABOR.

The tide of immigration has risen and receded in response to the demands for labor in this country, particularly for unskilled labor. The Commissioner of Immigration expresses the opinion in his report that a great part of those who give their occupations as farmers and mechanics come to accept unskilled labor, not from choice, but because there is a constant demand for unskilled labor in this country that can not be supplied at home. It is work, not the wage, that now, as in the past, throws a great part of this unskilled labor to the immigrant. He begins at the bottom, where he does not compete with native labor, and he does not come into competition with our own labor until

he has risen in the scale by industry and intelligence to produce skilled labor.

Whenever this tide of immigration has risen to numbers that have alarmed native labor, or there has been a depression in business, the tide has receded. In 1872 we had a very large immigration, but in 1874, after the panic, immigration dropped to less than one-half of what it had been. In 1892 there were 623,000 immigrants, and in 1895 only 280,000. Mr. Gompers, in his report to the American Federation of Labor in 1894, said that there were 3,000,000 unemployed in this country.

In 1905, 1906, and 1907 there were more than 1,000,000 immigrants each year, but in 1908, after the business depression, the number of immigrants fell to 782,000.

Mr. Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, is reported in the hearings of this committee as estimating that there were between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 unemployed last year. The net immigration of 1915 was 43,000. In the last six months of 1915 the net gain by immigration was 2,392, and in December there were 570 more departures than arrivals. The Commissioner of Immigration says: "These figures show quite clearly that the decline in immigration had begun prior to the outbreak of the European war and was probably a reflection of industrial conditions in the United States."

WHENCE COMES DEMAND FOR RESTRICTION.

This demand for the restriction of immigration comes largely from sections of the country which receive little immigration; the Southern States receive only 2 per cent.

Mr. HARDY. If the gentleman will allow me, is Texas included in the Southern States that he mentions?

Mr. CANNON. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of West Virginia. Is West Virginia included in the statistics?

Mr. CANNON. I think not; still I will not answer certainly. These statistics were gathered for me. I have respect for the leaders of the great labor organizations, but I sometimes think they become unduly alarmed over this question and fail to understand the real sentiments of the people whom they represent. We have here petitions from the United Miners' Union, and yet the majority of the miners are immigrants who are aiding to bring their friends here and secure work for them. It is the same in many other branches of labor, and I have been unable to find the same hostility to the immigrant in the ranks of labor that is represented by the leaders of the labor organizations. There has always been a kindred feeling in the ranks of labor, which extends the hand of fellowship to newcomers.

PRESENT INCREASE IN POPULATION.

What reason is there for greater restriction now when we have practically no immigration? The increase in population of the United States in the census decade was the lowest recorded since the Government was organized. From 1790 to 1800 the increase was 35.1 per cent; in the next decade, 36.4 per cent; the next three decades, 33 per cent; from 1840 to 1860, 35.5 per cent; from 1860 to 1870, 22.6 per cent; from 1870 to 1880, 30 per cent; from 1880 to 1890, 25.5 per cent; from 1890 to 1900, 21.2 per cent; and from 1900 to 1910, 21 per cent. The downward tendency will probably be greater in the present census decade than in the last decade.

President Lincoln, in his message of 1862, estimated that the population of the United States in 1910 would be 138,918,526, or 40,000,000 greater than it was recorded by the last census. He saw in an increase of population a boon for the country, but some of our people to-day are less optimistic and see only danger in the growth of population. I can not agree with them, for the development of the great resources of this country depend upon its population.

The forests, the iron ore, the coal, and the prairies have been here for untold ages, but America only became the richest Nation on earth when there were people here to develop and utilize these natural riches; and, let me tell you, brawn has played quite as great a part in this development as brain. While I want to see all our people educated, I have often found as much brain action in those who could neither read nor write as in the products of some of our colleges. The State prisons of New York have as many college and academy graduates as they have of the illiterate [laughter], and the head teacher at Sing Sing reports that many of those who possess ability to read are unable to understand the meaning of what they read. I prefer understanding to such a literacy test. [Applause.]

We have corrected the mistakes of the past, and no longer may the mentally, morally, or physically deficient enter our ports; nor may they come under contract, nor in the old, crowded condition of immigrant ships. We have now well-considered laws to guard this country from the immigrant when he becomes a charge on our own people; we admit only those who may contribute by labor to the upbuilding of the country, its industries, and its wealth. The literacy test has not in the past, as applied to our own people, produced better and more efficient workers, especially in the shops and mines and on the farms. I do not believe it will improve the quality of our immigration.

Some gentlemen here fear that the close of the European wars will increase the tide of immigration, but I do not so believe. Europe will have need for all her able-bodied men to make up for the ravages of war. Our laws now prevent the coming of those who would become a charge upon this country.

WHO ARE THE NATIVE AMERICANS?

But who are the native Americans? I have for years tried to find the native element in our population. I recently turned to a report of the Census Office, under the title of "A Century of Population Growth," in which is given a list of the family names which appeared in the First Census in 1790. This does not give all of the names of the more than thirty hundred thousand people living then in the United States, but it does pretend to give all the family names that represented 100 or more people, on the assumption that the "heads of families in 1790 were the founders of the Republic," and that these names, numbering 27,337, would be "the basis for our American genealogy." There were then thirty-one hundred and seventy-two thousand four hundred and forty-four white people in the United States, and less than 30,000 family names. These were the native whites in this country when the Constitution was adopted and Washington became the first President.

How many of us can trace our lineage back to those first American families, and how many of us are compelled to trace our lineage back to the alien immigrant? I tried to trace the membership of this House back to that American "Almanac de Gotha," and I could not locate one-third of you. [Laughter and applause.] There are 135 Members of this House whose family names can not be found in the First Census of the United States. These 135 Representatives represent the alien immigrants to this country, but who will deny that they have American names? I found the name of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER], who is one of the later pioneers of this movement, written in 15 different ways, and that may justify his position. [Laughter and applause.] I found the name of the chairman of the Committee on Immigration and the author of this bill, but few of the other members of the committee can trace their lineage back to the first families. I was able to find my own name there spelled in six different ways, from Cannon to Canine, but I have other historical records that some of my ancestors were driven out of New England long before this First Census on pain of having their ears cut off if they remained; so I have no particular pride in finding my name among the first families of the Republic. I am willing to be put down with the aliens of this House. [Laughter.]

The Senate is not better represented in that old list than the House. While my friend [Mr. GARDNER of Massachusetts] is, as I said, represented by 15 different spellings, I have been unable to find the name of his distinguished father-in-law, the senior Senator from Massachusetts, who is one of the most brilliant and cultured men in public life. That ought to be a consolation to some of you. If Senator LODGE is an alien, who among us may not be proud of the title? [Applause.]

The Congress of the United States is not the only place where scions of the first families do not monopolize the membership. There were no McKennas, no McReynolds, no Pitneys, no Van Deventers, and no Brandeis for the membership of the Supreme Court; no McAdoos, no Burlesons, and no Houstons to sit around the Cabinet table. Business, commerce, manufacture, science, literature, art, and labor, as now represented in our great American family, would have lost in nomenclature if not in development had the first Congress of the United States enacted such legislation as this and closed the ports to the alien immigrant. I can find in that list of first families in 1790 no Agasiz, Edison, or Westinghouse; no Carnegie, Harriman, Havemeyer, or Mackey; no Astor, Belmont, Lorillard, or Leiter; no Funston or Pershing; no Watterson or Pulitzer; no St. Gaudens or La Farge; no Gompers or Morrison; no Billy Sunday or Mary Pickford.

Mr. SIEGEL. And there was no Hughes.

Mr. CANNON. I did not look far enough to find out.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. SIEGEL. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois 15 minutes more.

Mr. CANNON. These are a few of the names which would never have appeared in American history had Congress in 1790 seen fit to legislate against the alien immigrant. But there is one other name absent from this old list of first families with which we have all become familiar in recent years, for it has appeared in the public prints more, perhaps, than any other associated with stirring events in both military and civil life; at the head of a regiment of rough riders, as governor of New York, as Vice President and President of the United States; as lion hunter, explorer, naturalist, discoverer of the River of Doubt, as idol of many people who call themselves the true Americans of this composite people; the name of Roosevelt does not appear in any form, synonym, or root in the list of first families. [Laughter and applause.]

Who, then, are the native Americans who have for 100 years periodically grown hysterical about putting up the bars to

protect themselves against alien blood, and then opening wide the gates to welcome immigration to an enlarged field of labor in this melting pot of the world, which has for 300 years been pouring from its crucible a new composite American to stand as a type both like and unlike those of the older civilizations from which the virile blood of America has been drawn? [Applause.]

SERVILE LABOR.

Before I sit down I want to ask why is it—and I call the attention of the gentlemen from the South to that—why is it that the gentleman from Alabama reports this bill? Why is it when only 2 per cent of the immigration that comes from abroad goes south of Mason and Dixon's line? I think I can explain it without abusing anybody. I do not abuse anybody. I was born in North Carolina, and I have a warm feeling for that State and for its climate, and my mother's eyes would fill with tears whenever she talked about it. You had servile labor and you had a white aristocracy. Labor was not considered honorable by the men south of Mason and Dixon's line. There would have been no struggle if it had not been for the fact that on the southern bank of the Ohio labor was servile and not considered honorable, while on the north side the labor was performed by American citizens.

Mr. QUIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON. I will yield to the gentleman, if he will be quick.

Mr. QUIN. I think the gentleman is mistaken about servile labor in the South; a man who worked was considered just as good as anybody else.

Mr. CANNON. And yet you take the mountainous spots, and it was a common saying that the negro slave was cared for in his old age, and although he did not vote he looked down upon the poor white with disdain. Take Dixon's book, *Leopard's Spots*. It is an overdrawn picture of the conditions before the Civil War. I was acquainted somewhat with the immigrants that came from the Southland to Illinois and Indiana. It was not very lovely for the white man down there that did not own slaves. But that is all behind us. It is wonderful how well you have done, but think of it. The hum of the spindles is being heard, the mines are being opened, your lumber is being marketed, and with it all there has been prosperity.

Good heavens! If you could get 20 per cent or could have received 20 per cent of the immigration that the Northland has been getting since the close of the Civil War, if it could have gone down there, you would have been 50 years ahead in your material development, and I believe 50 years ahead in every

kind of development of where you are now. [Applause.] It will come in time, and Godspeed the time!

QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING.

But, Mr. Chairman, I have some very interesting figures here which I desire to call to the attention of the committee. I get these figures from the World Almanac—and you can not dispute what the World Almanac says, you are estopped. [Laughter.] I presume it is correct. I gathered these statistics from that publication last night. In the State of Alabama an alien who has declared his intention, or taken out his first papers, as it is called, and who has lived in the State for two years, is made a voter.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman is mistaken, and if the World Almanac says that it is mistaken. He has to be a naturalized citizen in order to vote.

Mr. CANNON. How long has that been the case?

Mr. BURNETT. Ever since the new constitution of 1901, and possibly further back.

Mr. CANNON. Thank God, there is progress there. [Laughter.] I am merely taking these from the World Almanac, and I am glad that the gentleman has interrupted me.

Mr. BURNETT. Oh, I knew that the gentleman did not intend to misrepresent anyone, and I desire to call his attention to the fact that Indiana is one of the States that he has in mind.

Mr. CANNON. Oh, yes; I am coming to that in a moment. Take Arkansas: First papers and one year's residence is all that is necessary to entitle a man to vote. Is that correct? Now we come to Indiana—Indiana, a State in which I grew up, of which I am proud, and I live within 6 miles of the western border now; Indiana, with her great Democratic representation in this House, solid two years ago; Indiana, composed of our kind of people and so represented—and what do we find the case to be there? An alien on declaring his intention to become a naturalized citizen, if he lives in the State for six months, is entitled to vote. Oh, judging from the votes of some of our Indiana friends. Great heavens! [Laughter.] Why do you not take the beam out of your own eye and do what you can to cure alleged abuses, rather than to come in here and vote for and advocate this literacy test? Now comes Kansas: A declaration of intention and a residence of six months let these illiterate people vote there. Missouri—show me! A declaration of intention and a residence of one year permits this illiterate alien to vote there.

The World Almanac has this note at the head of this table of statistics:

34307—15334

Communicated to the World Almanac and corrected to date by the attorneys general of the respective States.

And now comes Nebraska: Halt! First papers and six months' residence entitles a man to vote. Is that right? Think of it! The home of William Jennings Bryan! [Laughter.] Texas: A great State. Some one said that it is larger than Germany. One year's residence and first paper, so the World Almanac says, entitles the illiterate alien to vote.

ALIEN LABOR FOR SOUTH AND NEW ENGLAND.

Mr. Chairman, before I forget it I desire to call attention to a particularly vital matter in this bill, and I desire to read it now. I will ask Members to turn to page 3. Speaking of the poll tax, it is provided:

That the said tax shall not be levied on account of aliens who enter the United States from the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland, the Republic of Cuba, or the Republic of Mexico for a temporary stay—

Does that let in the factory labor for a temporary stay in the State of Massachusetts, I will ask the distinguished gentleman from that State [Mr. GARDNER]? I want to ask the gentlemen from Texas, does that let in Mexican laborers from the Republic of Mexico when you desire laborers to pick your cotton and harvest your crops? I am reliably informed Mexicans cross the border there periodically for agricultural labor. I guess it does; I guess it does.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman desires me to answer that question I will do so, but I do not want to take up the gentleman's time.

Mr. CANNON. Very well. I will be very glad if it can be answered, because the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BURNETT], in his remarks upon the adoption of this rule, said that the present Mexican war, in his opinion—I think I quote him correctly; or threat of war, at least—the condition down there on the border, which caused the death of citizens in Texas and of our soldiers, was due to the fact that there was no literacy test.

Mr. GALLIVAN. That is what he said.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I want to tell a little story if I can in my time. I knew Judge Holman of Indiana very well. I served with him for many years. He was one of the most distinguished men who ever served in Congress from that State; a perfect gentleman, an able legislator, but he had the reputation of being the "watchdog" of the Treasury. Years before he died once in a while I would meet him, and we would take a drink together. Now, I can take a drink, and it will not affect me much, but if he ever took one or two he became ex-

ceedingly bright, and he would reminisce. [Laughter.] One day he met an old friend of his from Vermont who had served with him in former years, who was second auditor under Grant; I forget his name. He shook hands with us, but he did not drink; he would not drink at all. Holman said to this gentleman, "Oh, I recollect our service with very great pleasure. We were both called watchdogs of the Treasury. So we were, so we were, but we always had sense enough not to growl when our friends were around." [Prolonged laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. CANNON. Oh, just one minute more.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Chairman, I yield two minutes more to the gentleman.

Mr. CANNON. I have enough here to talk three hours, but I want to apply that story. There is to be no head tax of \$8 for people who come in from Canada or Mexico and these other places—temporarily! [Laughter.]

Mr. Chairman, I am proud of this country; I am glad to have been born in this, or perhaps I had better say in the last, generation. I would like to live to see the swing of the twentieth century and what it will bring. Nature is kindly; I can quit whenever the man with the scythe comes, but I desire to say that I have this faith, that we will grow stronger and stronger, and that we will continue to become so and to live under the Constitution of the United States which guarantees property, liberty, freedom in religious opinion, with legislation that shall cover the rich and poor, the great and small, the high and low, everyone within our borders, native born or naturalized, like the grace of God, and that under it we will make our laws strong enough to restrain the strongest and to protect the weakest, and that for more centuries than I can say the great Republic will grow and grow and continue to retain as it ought to our privileges and our civilization. [Prolonged applause.]

34307—15334

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